Li Herskovits & Herskovits E-8 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

family. The children of the second wife belong to the family of the second wife. A woman calls her husband's other wife by the name of kamboea. Do you know what kamboea means?" he asked, laughing. "*Kamboea*—the woman who makes trouble for me. So, you see, we people of the bush learned from our ancestors to give each wife her own house, where she might live with her own children."

But not alone the woman needed to have a house of her own. The man, too, built a house for himself. In it he stored his possessions. It was his sanctuary. No woman might enter it. On the carving of its door, a man lavished all his love of ornamentation, all his artistry.

"A man likes to have his own house for his possessions," explained Kasanya. "If he is a rich man, it is better that his wives do not know how much he has. You know what women are. They always ask for presents. But if a man is not rich, then it is better still that his wives do not know it. If they know, they will make life hard for him with nagging. They will talk of leaving him. And all the village will know, too."

In this house, then, which a man built for his wife, the children were reared. Sometimes, it is true, if the harvests were poor or the father had met with ill luck, the mother's brothers would come for the children, for children are the ones to carry on the line. It is through them that clan rank and material goods are inherited.

But if all went well with the father, then the attachments of the household were the closest, and they continued even after death. For the household was not entirely disrupted after the death of a parent. Unless the one who died had been a sorcerer, a leper, or a madman, the house where he lived was not torn down.

"When a man dies," Kasanya said, "the wife goes on living in the house, once it has been purified. If a woman dies, then the man keeps on living there."

"What of the children?" we asked. "What becomes of them?"

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

824 796 Later, through the gathering darkness, the people of the neighboring villages went home, paddling their boats which were loaded down with the fish that had been netted. And from this time on, everyone knew that this neku vine was [423] [428] the property of him who had found it, and of his family, down through his mother's line, forever.

"Ai, mati, you would have seen something, if you had got here for the neku dance!"

6

361 Like any other Bush Negro village, S'ei was a series of sandy clearings about which were grouped huts of woven palm fronds and palm thatch. All about was the big bush. [487] [489] The trails which led from the village were each guarded by a magically treated palm azang, and shrines to the ancestral spirits who saw to it that evil was kept away. Where the several paths led, a stranger was not encouraged to discover. Down one, women were to be seen disappearing [482] in the morning with trays on their heads, their infants astride their backs, held inside the folds of a cloth which was fastened high above their breasts, and caught up again below them. In many upper river villages, this path led to the fields, some distance away. Others were the way to [478] shrines, erected to those spirits which must be worshiped outside the village. Another path might lead to a brook, which the villagers held sacred. There were trails, too, which connected neighboring villages, and led perhaps farther yet, but for the stranger, the highway was the river, [486] and no matter how short the distance between one settlement and another, he was not invited to make his way through the bush.

"You do not want to go through the bush, white man. In the bush are evil spirits," we heard many times.

A village clearing was divided into quarters. Each quarter was inhabited by one of the *mbi*, or extended families, and 361 592 the quarter bore its name. It was composed of several households—five or six or more, depending upon the size of the

In Herskovits & Herskovits S-5 (1928-1929) 1934
Still Bush Negroes Still
Saramacca

village. A household was not confined to one building only, but few who were not men of rank and means had more than three. One was for the woman and her children, another for storing the crops, and the third was the man's treasure house, where women might not come. It was like the matter of wives. Only men of position could afford more than one. But if a man had two wives and both lived in his village, then perhaps five huts would bear a design identified with him on the carved side posts which outlined the low doorway. This design would recur in the various carvings he had made for his women—it was his crest. And though a man from another village, who was not related to him, might like it, and liking it copy it, this practice would be socially frowned upon.

A village quarter, however, did not contain only dwelling places, and storehouses, and men's treasure houses. Certain families also had in their part of the village an enclosed shrine for the family gods. If in a given family a powerful Vodu, or snake god, had come to an ancestress and had in a dream, or in a seizure, or through a revelation made to an obia man, chosen her as his *'asi*—his priestess or medium—then with this disclosure came the instructions for the place of locating a house of worship to that Vodu, and the type of house it was to be. Such a shrine, once erected, would be kept in the quarter, and worshiped by the members of that family. Sometimes in front of a dwelling hut, a low enclosure, the size of a small kennel, would stand a little to the side of the door. This was a house to Toné, the river spirit. In one such house lived a woman who had a great Toné god. She had the gift of prophecy. When the men gathered for a council meeting in the village of the Granman, then she, too, would sometimes be bidden to come and sit with the men, though, being a woman, she could never speak at council meetings.

"Touch her skin," the other women said, pointing out this albino woman, "and you will have your desires fulfilled."

In each quarter, too, there was an open house where the women did their cooking, and perhaps a platform or two,

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

clan names. He went to his mother's brother, and asked for the origin of his own clan, and the relationship that existed between the lo to which he belonged and the others.

"It is for the old men to know," his uncle replied. "When you are old, you will know these things."

"But you must tell me. It is my right," the young man insisted.

"It will be your right," the older man corrected him.

And there the matter rested. But from one, and from another, we gathered the clan names. One village belonged to one clan, its obia was confided to us, and at another village we learned the name of still another clan. So the list of names slowly grew—ten, twelve, thirteen, fourteen. But some clans were paired in a fashion we could not fathom, and when the clans are grouped so as to express the tribe as a whole, the expression that is used is that of "the twelve lo."

The clan we found to be rooted deep in the land. Each clan had its own territory, and in the region it controlled only the men of the clan might fish in the creeks or fell the hardwood trees which the white man in the city bought. All of the up-river clans had land on the lower river near the railhead, and an important down-river clan, like that of the Gankwe people, had land deep in the interior. Whether fear of invasion, on the one hand, or the need to have their own strongholds in the event of factional disputes, on the other, dictated this division of the land, it was, of course, impossible to determine. Yet it was unquestionably useful for a clan to have representation up and down the river in this fashion. Thus a man, as he traveled up or down the river, would be sure of at least one or two places where he might count on receiving the welcome due him as one who is at home among those who have come from the same "old mother," and where he might feel spiritually safe among people of his own blood, and among the same gods as those of his own village.

Village, clan, and above these the tribe. So it was that the political order of the Bush Negro was integrated. Tribal

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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[539]

"Wife of the G'aman,
I come from the river.
Go to the G'aman
Say to him,
These strangers are friends,
They bring no evil."

It was the god speaking, and the Granman's wife received with lowered head the words spoken through the priestess.

"Ai, my master. Ai, Massa Gadu," she said.

5

The Granman's paternal village was directly across the river from Asindopo Lantiwe. It was called Akisiamau, literally "Took with an outstretched hand," but whether there was also some meaning in the phrase not intended for the uninitiated, we could not learn. In size it was not much larger than the Granman's village, and again and again we recognized houses which were his by the crest-like carvings on the doorposts, that reproduced the design found not only at the side of the council-house door, but at the door of all other houses at Asindopo Lantiwe which were his.

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643
[423]

Except for several old people who sat about in the shade and waited for the strangers to come to them with their greetings, the entire village followed us as we made our way down one path and another.

123

"*Bak'a, Amc'ika Bak'a, Amc'ika Fandya!*—White man. American white man, American Fandya!" the children called after us, as they ran at our heels, touching our canteens, our sun helmets, and shoes.

The Granman had spoken with especial fondness of his father's house, and it was there that we asked first to be taken. It was not occupied, we were told, and none might enter it. Above the top crosspiece white cotton was draped. Except that its door was closed, it showed no signs of being

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2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of 583
cloth, sugar, tobacco, and some carved wooden implements, such as combs, paddles, trays. These are handed over to the bride's family as presents. Then the wife simply moves into her husband's hut, or he into hers. Despite their pre-marital 585
promiscuity, it is said that on the bridal night all the inhabitants of a Bush Negro village will gather outside the hut to hear what the husband has to say regarding the bride's virginity. If the girl is not a virgin, part of the bride price may be refunded, at the husband's discretion. The gathering on such an occasion is attended by much jocularity.

The Djuka husband builds a hut for each one of his women 593
and has another for himself, to which he may retire when- 342
ever he feels the need of bachelor seclusion. The woman 591
sleeps in her own hut, cooks, and raises her children there. The husband comes to her when he wants to, and leaves her for another wife when impulse so guides him. She seldom quarrels with the other wives, who may even live in separate villages.

Each wife has her own provision ground, where she grows 593
rice and cassava; her husband has cleared it for her. The cas- 241
sava fields are owned by individual women, but are held in 562
very loose tenure. At harvest time, or when a plague of in- [423] ●
sects is threatening, the women of several households work [476]
together in common.

The man's hut is called his *gudu oso,* or "treasure house." 342
It serves to impress his women with his importance and 556
wealth. They are forbidden to enter it, but, woman-like, they insist on peeping in. So he keeps many boxes and wood carv-

/137 cont./

241 and sugar cane, while in the third year some pineapples, bananas, and sugar cane are also harvested.

Thereafter one surrenders the ground to the second growth (kapoeweri) shooting up, here called "kauwé," and to the weeds, like the cutting grass "baboen nefi" (Scleria secans), which prevent further growth of the cultivated crop.

This system of clearing grounds requires much land. It is a severely predatory cultivation which can only be employed when sufficient free land is available. Only after many years can one return to the same piece of forest to lay out a new ground, depending on the recovery of the forest, more particularly on the top growth.

[592] Among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne it is the rule that
[476] each household provide for itself. The man clears the ground with help of family /familie/ members or friends, who in return for food are taken in during this time. If the man has /138/ one wife, then ordinarily two grounds per year are cleared; if he has more than one wife, then he clears two grounds for each wife.

[622] The captain /kapitein/ of a village lays out his ground him-
[643] self, helped by his villagers. The granman /chief/, however, does not work himself, but, regardless of the number of his wives, has his family and other helpers clear grounds in return for food for the
●423 workdays. The products of the grounds of a household are not joint
593 property, but rather the wife asserts her rights over the produce from one ground, while the man claims that from the other ground. Thus a distinction is made between the agrarian property of the wife and that of the husband.

3. The Plague of Ants and the Ant-bushes

241
825 In the agriculture of the Bush Negroes the plague of ants plays a significant role. The leaf-cutting or parasol ants (Atta sexdens and Atta cephalotes) are very destructive because of their attacks on the leaves in the plantings. The first-named species is the greatest evildoer in the interior districts of Surinam. Cassava in

/139 cont./

13 seems too high to me), the ants can bring into the soil each year two to three tons of leaf material per hectare. As a result the soil would be so enriched with humus and, in addition, through the construction of the numerous nest corridors, receive so much extra ventilation that the oxygen content and the microbiological condition of this soil would tend to differ from the mineral soils in which the virgin forest is rooted. As proof of this, it is stated "that even the oldest ant-kapoeweri directly behind the villages shows no tendency to grow into normal high forest" (p. 13).

114 137 136 It does not seem correct to me to ascribe this kapoeweri phenomenon only to the presence and the activity of the leaf-cutting ants. In my opinion the ants here constitute a troublesome contributing factor, for when the virgin-forest grounds are abandoned by the population and no new food material is available to the ants while the kapoeweri gradually grows into higher forest, then the balance in the ant population re-establishes itself. This process takes place at a slow rate, depending on the local circumstances, but it leads to the re-establishment of the original situation. There is, however, one condition connected with it, namely, that the forest be left in peace for a long enough stretch. 241 134 Now this last is not the case for the grounds area of the Bush Negroes. They return too soon (within ten years) to clear grounds again, with the consequence that the soil becomes too exhausted and the recovery of the forest becomes impossible.

171 241 137 [136] Proof for this viewpoint is already provided by Stahel (loc. cit.) in his consideration of the agriculture of the upland Indians. The absence of the ant-kopoeweri there is not a matter of a lesser ant infestation, as Stahel /140/ believes -- for in places this is equally serious -- but of a less intensive use of the forest lands. [161] 423 [361] The Indians are present in small numbers (a few hundred, as against thousands of Bush Negroes), while only communal plots are laid out for one village, and not different ones for each family. In addition, the Indians move frequently in order to find new hunting and fishing grounds.

/141 cont./

4. The Agrarian Law

241 There is yet another circumstance which adversely affects
● 423 the agriculture of the Bush Negroes. As among many primitive peoples, so also in the life of the Djoeka /Djuka/ customary law plays an important role. We have already seen that at least two grounds per year are laid out per household. In fact it comes down to this, that both the man and the woman possess a ground of their own. Now these two grounds do not lie next to each other or close to each other. On the contrary, the one ground is always hours away from the other one; it is to be found on the other side of the river or elsewhere along a forest creek. One might think that this is a kind of division of risks. In actuality it is a question of family property. The ground of the wife is cleared in the area of her family, and the ground of the man in his family complex. The grounds are thus laid out with reference to the large family and not with reference to the household. Each family has a definite area where it has the right to clear grounds. This area lies along a forest creek, or one lays out a path from the river through the forest, along which the grounds
[578] are cleared. Not infrequently, quarrels arise over the use of land by "unauthorized" persons on distinctly family land.

A Bush Negro thus cannot simply select a piece of forest for his ground wherever he pleases. He is bound by the law of family property. This applies not only to the families among themselves, but in a larger context also to the villages. Each village has its area within which the families from that village lay out grounds. Only through marriage can men lay out grounds for their wives in the area of another village.

These complications in agriculture lead to the circumstance that the hunger for land arises much sooner than would otherwise
[361] be the case. Add to this the fact that many Bush Negro villages remain in existence for a very long time, sometimes 100 years at
[161] a stretch, in the same spot. It is therefore not surprising that through the growth in population in such centers, too, the limit of this predatory cultivation has been reached.

000/141 cont./
241 of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby
423 agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with
[134] the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery
[825] of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

241 The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes
311 are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their vil-
[484] lages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to
[482] reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see p. 13 /).

241 On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less
311 populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then estab-
361 lishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one
[103] operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others, between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or
311 other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the
423 way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition
643 by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to reserve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and therefore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

241 The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni,
311 such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food
423 grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agri-
361 cultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream
103 on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

101 The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner
162 Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately
[311] 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne, approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

/15/

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BONI

Villages

[3] [361] [133] Localization. The principal Boni villages have for 150 years been grouped on the Lawa (1) upstream from Abattis-Cottica Falls.

> 1. Let us remember that the Lawa and the Tapanahoni are the streams forming the Maroni. The Lawa constitutes the border between Surinam and French Guiana.

The limit of Boni country toward the south is vague. However, it is taken for granted that all the Abattis-Cottica belong [361] to the Boni. Boni farming villages and Djuka villages coexist downstream from the Abattis-Cottica as far as Abounasounga. Below Abounasounga begins Djuka country properly speaking (2).

> 2. In reality this is a zone of colonization, for the "great country" of the Djuka is the Tapanahoni. But the customary rights they possess on the Lawa lands are contested by no one.

• 423 643 [131] Traditionally, the Boni used to consider the whole of the upper basin of the Maroni as their domain or at the very least as territory under the authority of the grand man. Thus it was at

/15 cont./ Thus it was at
423 the time of the Lawa gold rushes (1890) that Grand Man Anato
643 caused rent to be paid by the Creole miners who were settling in
[648] the region. But this practice, excessive when the small portion of this territory actually occupied by the Boni is considered, ended
423 up by falling into disuse. Nowadays things have fallen into the
648 opposite extreme, and the Boni find themselves having no right,
178 customary or otherwise, over the country of their ancestors; the first comer, even of the Creoles from the British West Indies, can settle anywhere, dislocating the apportionment of the land among lineages. This situation has been harmful to the life of the tribe by contributing to the scattering of the peopling. Perhaps it is not too late to remedy the situation. An /16/ /Figure 2 appears here/ /17/ African tribe cannot live wholesomely if there are no definite relationships, entailing unquestioned rights, between the group and the land.

423 The following modus vivendi has been in force for many
619 years:

a) The Djuka may circulate freely across Boni country, but
[486] they may not establish villages in it; if they wish to make clearings
[166] there, they must ask for permission from the grand man.
[226] Otherwise they have the right to fish on the Tanpok and the Waki.

423 b) The Creoles may settle anywhere and make their clear-
648 ings where the lands are not used. But that does not modify in the minds of the Boni the lineages' rights over the land; this occupation is regarded as creating no new right; for example, the Doglis habitation is built on the lands of Kormotibo village.

423 c) The Boni reserve for themselves along with the Oayana
648 Indians the exclusive right to fish on the Litani and the Maruini.
822 On these rivers the Djuka do not have the right to penetrate.
(619)

The Boni may be computed at a little less than 1,000 persons
162 all told.

/23 cont./

621 175 [66] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kénéya, Amawi, and Oka.

/60/

There are no gardens around the cabins because the conditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another and sometimes very far from the village.

If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals, custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees. In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms /attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe. The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

1876 Death of Grand Man Atyaba.

1877 Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.

1882 Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

613 554 692 [642] /67 cont./

2) He exerts an extended judiciary power, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following be settled within the framework of the lineage:

[754] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage;

[423] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively [578] possessed by the lineage.

613 554 192 577 The way in which the captain exercises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dissensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it.

613 466 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doing the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly unpopular orders.

613 554 124 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 591 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

643 /71 cont./.
692
[578] --Disputes over the appropriation of lands are very rare in
[423] Boni country because of the sparseness of population.

We have never seen the grand man hold anything other than audiences of conciliation relative to people who had fought or
[183] threatened each other. The custom of the Refugee Blacks would indeed be difficult to fit into a code. The state of persons and social duties derive so directly from beliefs that the intervention of a judge is not indispensable for the functioning of the society.

643 The grand man is supposed to retain power over all the lands
423 of Boni country which are not allocated to lineages; in particular, this is the case with the upper basin of the headstreams of the Lawa.
[648] It is above all by virtue of this that he is considered the suzerain
[184] of the Indians living in this territory. The same conception exists among the Djuka with respect to the headstreams of the Tapanahoni.

643 The suzerainty of the grand man over the land and waters is
724 marked, as in Africa, by special rights in the domain of hunting
[226] and fishing. He alone can authorize group fishing on the great river by the process of la nivrée. The same problem does not hold for hunting which is practiced in a strictly individual fashion. But it is taken for granted that if a tapir (1) is killed in Boni country,

1. The tapir is the largest animal of the bush.

the hunter must carry its head as well as a thigh to the grand man.

643 A certain misunderstanding reigns between the Europeans and
648 the Boni on the subject of the duties of the grand man. The Europeans tend to believe that he commands the tribe in the way in which a colonel commands a regiment, that he can designate a certain man for a certain job, fix the price of boats, etc. The grand man tries to give satisfaction to the administration /72/ to justify the pay he draws, but he succeeds very badly in it, for in reality he possesses almost no temporal power.

6:Hurault--108 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/77/

CHAPTER V

STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES (1)

1. Part written with the cooperation of Mr. P. Frenay, assistant technical geographer.

Appropriation of Land in the Customary Law of the Refugee Blacks

The fundamental principle of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks as far as land is concerned is that only the lineage can retain real rights. The individual can hold only a right of use, which disappears at his death.

This right concerns exclusively the working of the land for plantings and does not extend, as we shall see further on, to hunting and gathering.

Each lineage possesses recognized rights over certain portions of land, more or less well delimited according to the density of the population, but known by all and giving no occasion (at least in Boni country) for any dispute.

Right of use. Within these zones there is joint possession of the rights among all the members of the lineage; each one has rights of use over a certain number of "clearings" which he habitually uses in turn to make his plantings.

The right of use can be given away: for example, if someone thinks he will no longer need a clearing he was habitually cultivating, he gives the right to utilize it to another member of the lineage.

423 613 671 [428] /77 cont./ Land held by right of use cannot be sold nor rented, but only loaned. Neither can it be transmitted by inheritance; this would be entirely contrary to the thinking and custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to everything that would violate the legal joint possession of the lineage. Inheritance can affect only the harvest in process [425] from clearings. Once this harvest is made, the land can be occupied by any member of the lineage, man or woman, who wishes to cultivate it; and if there is any dispute, it is obligatorily settled within the lineage; the grand man would refuse to judge it. Kinship degree /78/ does not enter in, at least in principle, since they can say to each other "brother," "uncle," or "grandfather" in the classificatory sense.

423 428 The only attenuation of the rigor of this principle provided for by custom is that upon the death of a woman, her daughters have a right of priority to utilize her lands.

423 241 128 The Refugee Blacks have a clear tendency to remain faithful all their lives to the same clearings. The study we have made of the clearings in Boni country gives poor information on the history of each clearing, for it would have been necessary to be able to consult on the spot a large number of people, which we were not able to do; nevertheless it allows us to state that in the neighborhood of the residence villages, individuals keep their right of use of a clearing for the length of their lives.

42 241 Here is for example the transmission of rights over clearings 101 to 112 /sic/ (see genealogical table of the Dju lo) (1).

1. See plate at the end of this work: Distribution of lands in the neighborhood of the principal Boni villages.

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241 Thus out of ten clearings we find only two cases where a member of the lineage gave his right of use to another during his lifetime; in four cases the right of use was taken over by a daughter upon the death of her mother; in two cases it passed to a distant relative.

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562 Anyone, man or woman, may hold rights of use. But examination of the clearings shows that the great majority of men do not ask for any, and that nearly all the land is appropriated by women. In the example noted, out of ten clearings only one is appropriated by a man. This derives from the fact that most men are content to cut their wives' clearings on their wives' lands but do not bother to farm on their own account.

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[613] Each woman holds rights of use over a certain number of clearings distributed in the different territorial zones of her lineage. It is important to have, so to say, many cords to one's bow, for it is necessary to be able, according to the activity of the manioc ants, to pass from one sector to another or on the contrary to work prematurely a clearing which one was hoping to leave fallow for several years.

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[423] For example, Tini (F1) holds rights over six to seven clearings. For one (No. 104), she created the right of use on her own behalf by clearing it out of old secondary forest without any known owner. As for another (No. 107), she received it from Loka (D13), a distant relative, as a gift during his lifetime. As for the others (for example No. 106), she created the right on her own behalf by farming them first upon the death of their holder.

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423 The right of use can be loaned, either to a member of the lineage or even to an outsider. It is specified that the loan is made for a certain number of years and that it is revocable. In such a case the donor does not lose his right of use.

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241 423 425 613 Real right. The principle is that he who makes a clearing out of primary forest (or old secondary forest without a known owner) creates at the same time as a right of use for himself, an impre-scriptible right for his lineage.

These two notions are very separate in the minds of the Refugee Blacks. The exercise of a right of use, even over a long period of time, over land already recognized as the possession of another lineage does not create any real right at all.

For example, ○ Béniti † 1963 (ES), an old woman of the Dju lo, had founded a farming habitation in the Kuyaku locality, where she worked the earth for several tens of years. But since these lands, even though unoccupied, were regarded as belonging to the Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village), Béniti's work did not create any right at all for the Dju lo. If her daughters do not agree and if the habitation disappears, it is people of the Dipélu II lo who will be able to occupy the lands.

613 571 425 423 Consequences of the material scission of a lineage. When fraction A' of lineage A emigrates and goes to settle on the land of another village, B, which cedes a portion of land to it, the members of fraction A', thus separated, keep all their rights over the land from which they originally came. But the reverse is not true: the people who remained in the village of origin of the lineage (A) have no right over the land ceded to the A' out of B's territory.

At the end of a certain time, and especially if the lineage (B) had never really occupied the land granted, it is assumed that the lineage (A') is possessor of it without restriction.

This was the case for example of the fraction of the Dipélu II who left Kormotibo village about 1930 to establish themselves in Asisi near the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka granted them some unoccupied lands near Asisi village in the Tapo locality. (162) This fraction, now numbering about 30 persons, considers that it has exclusive rights over these lands where the Kormotibo people cannot come to farm, but it has lost nothing as regards its rights over Kormotibo soil.

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621 613 [174] Case of the village of Boniville. This village constitutes an especially interesting case, for it brings together small fractions of the various lineages permanently settled there. It helps one to understand what the territorial implantation of the Refugee Blacks may have been toward the end of the 18th century at the time when their institutions were developing.

621 613 423 [143] The principle is that the Boniville lands belong to the grand man, the last representative of the Dikan lineage; he granted individually to the inhabitants of the village the right to farm his lands. These inhabitants thus hold only a right of use, and there can be no competition among them for the possession of the real rights.

[425] But the principle of transmission of the right of use in the same lineage remains for each clearing taken separately. For example, Klémenti (Dju, F7), who made a clearing out of primary forest, concedes that after him his land may be occupied by any member of the Dju lineage residing in Boniville, but not by Dju lineage members living in Asisi. /81/

423 621 Few in number on a relatively extensive territorial sector, the inhabitants of Boniville have not felt the need to divide the sector granted by the grand man into precise territorial zones.

423 425 613 It is difficult to foresee what will happen after the death of Grand Man Difu when the rights of use will be transformed into real rights. It is probable that a territorial division among the fractions of the lineage established in Boniville will be imperceptibly created by the simple fact that competition will arise among them.

423 Fishing, hunting, gathering, and mineral exploitation rights. These rights are totally separate from the right to farm; in this respect the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks reveal the precariousness of the bonds between the individual and the soil, which results from ecological conditions.

/31 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
222 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.
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[425] For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Dju, Awara Bakka, and Dipéla II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
[224] to hunt anywhere.

[222] The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
[313] planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.

The right to collect underground products is completely
423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
316 a seam of kaolin (pémba) on the lands of another lineage, he
317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

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Territorial Implantation of Lineages

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As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

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--The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

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Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or dégrads /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths. The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages. At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[184]

1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

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423 311 This fact is easily observable in the neighborhood of recently created farming habitations. In the figure "Distribution of lands ... in the neighborhood of the confluence with the Inini" (see at the end of the present chapter), the lands of the Antonu habitation are clearly seen distributed along two paths, one on each bank of the river.

241 423 In the sectors near Boni residence villages, cultivated in days gone by, the main lines of these boundaries are known everywhere. Still, they are far from being as precise as in the African countries with dense population, where the absence of manioc ants allows a regular rotation of lands. In Boni country this rotation is most variable, the duration of fallow ground going from two to 20 years [136 311] and more. Vast sectors where the activity of the manioc ants suddenly becomes greater are abandoned for many years. When they are cultivated again, people no longer remember the exact boundaries of the former clearings and the new holders cut their clearings in their own way, taking care only that they remain on the lands of their lineage.

000 /83/ STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS
IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RESIDENCE VILLAGES

Inventory of Part of the Cultivated or Fallow Plots
in January, 1957

621 [241] Study of the clearings of Agodé (Boniville). The lands adjacent to Boniville are worked in a very unsystematic fashion because of the composite character of the village population.

[613] Let us call to mind that Agodé includes fractions of six lineages:

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621 613 --The Dikan lo, lineage of the grand man, nearly extinct
--A fragment of the Kotika lo
--A fragment of the Dju lo
--A fragment of the Lapé lo
--A fragment of the Papalston lo
--A fragment of the Dipélu I lo

621 613 423 241 The Dikan lineage holds the real rights over the whole of the lands situated on the eastern bank of the Lawa, from Puu Mofu Creek to the south up to the edge of L'Enfant Perdu village to the north.

The fragment of the Papalston lo established in Boniville is in a special situation; it has for a long time possessed the lands situated to the south of Puu Mofu Creek up to the edge of Loka village (Lapé lo). This group has remained strongly organized and its members do not make clearings outside their zone, in which they have all the space desirable anyway.

[643] The members of the other groups make their clearings on all the surface formerly occupied by the Dikan lo. The grand man has reserved for his personal use the lands situated near Likanaon Creek, where he has built a farming habitation. The inhabitants of Boniville make their clearings on all the rest and without any definite territorial grouping.

[701] This finage (1), like the others studied in the present chapter, was

1. Finage: zone cultivated by the members of a collectivity.

visited in January, 1957, in other words shortly after the end of the land-clearing and at the beginning of the planting.

Study of some clearings of the Agodé bakka locality "behind Boniville":

abbreviations: (K) Kotika (D) Dikan (D.p) Dipélu
(Dju) Dju (P) Papalston (L) Lapé

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	○	Kamina (K2, E92) clearing cut by her husband	1956	lived in Boniville	4 years; last user Todo (K2, F68), in 1952
2	△	Grand Man Difu (D)	1953	--	2 years; used by the grand man in 1951
3	○	Béniti (Dju, E5)	1951	--	cleared by Béniti about 1915, cut by her 3 times in all
4	○	Mimi (K3, E156)	1951	--	cut on old secondary forest
5	△	Todo (K2, F68)	1951	--	2 years; already cut by Todo in 1951 and 1953
6	○	Lèya (K2, F99); clearing cut by her husband	1956	--	6 years; clearing cut by Kanayen (Kotika lo) † in 1950
7	○	Lésina (K2, F69) clearing cut by her husband Manku (Dip. I)	1953	--	?

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
8	△	Grand Man Difu	1952	--	?
9	○	Paata (Djuka woman settled in Boniville)	1947(?)	id.	already used by Paata about 1940
10	○	Térésa (L2, E57) clearing cut by her sons	1953	id.	?
11	○	Paata (see above)	1953		already used by Paata in 1950

Thus, out of this group of eleven clearings, two remain attributed to the grand man, one to a woman of the Dju lineage, two to a Djuka woman, one to a woman of the Lapé lineage, five to members of the Kotika lineage, all inhabitants of Boniville. /85/

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Study of the clearings of the fraction of the Papaïston established in Boniville. This group formerly lived in Puu Mofu village at the mouth of the creek of the same name, abandoned about 1940 following an epidemic. Its settlement in Boniville is therefore recent. The oldest man in the group, Bukuman, a man of some 60 years, exerts de facto authority.

This group tends to add to its initial finage the band of land included between Boniville village and Puu Mofu Creek belonging to the Dikan lo (especially clearings Nos. 12, 13, 14).

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
12 ○	Apinda (P1, G26)	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 years; last user Adyuba (D) † mother of the grand man
13 ○	Alasani (P1, F34)	1953	id.	20 years idem
14 ○	Lémiki (K3, E130)	1945 (?)	lives in Boniville	20 years (this clearing is not in Papaïston territory)
15 △	Bukuman (P1, F32), for his wife	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction in Boniville	20 to 25 years
16 ○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1954	id.	id.
17 ○	Alasani	1954	id.	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period	
18	○	Térésa (L2, E57)	1955	woman of Lapé lineage living in Boniville; has worked there as an exception with Bukuman's permission	id.	
18a	○	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.	
19	○	Pélui (P1, F33)	1954	id.	id.	/86/
20	△	Bukuman, for his wife	1954	id.	id.	
21	○	Pélui	1955	id.	id.	
22	○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.	

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23	O	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 to 25 years
24	O	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1955	id.	id.
25	△	Baafu (L2, E58), for himself	1955	man of the Lapé lineage living in Boniville. Has worked there as an exception with Bangasé's permission	id.
26	O	Pélui	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Boniville)	id.
27	O	Apinda	1949	id.	id.

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C21 C13 423 241 Near this clearing is the limit of the lineage lands; beyond are the clearings of Loka village (Lapé lineage).

Out of the 16 clearings examined here, 14 are occupied by members of the Papaïston group at Boniville, two are held by [562] temporary users, outsiders to the group. Out of the 16 clearings 13 are held by women and three by men.

Lands of Loka village (Lapé lo). This village, with its annex Lapé Tabiki, is the residence village of the Lapé lo. [614] The Lapé lo, whose genealogy is completely known and which remains geographically well grouped, is divided into two fractions without ceasing to constitute a lineage (bɛɛ) in the strict sense of the term. Its lands are divided into three zones:

--One on the east bank of the Maroni, behind Loka village.

/87/ --Another on the west bank (Surinam bank) opposite Lapé Tabiki, which we were not able to examine.

--Another upstream from Maripasoula, where part of the members of the lineage possess farming habitations.

[311] The first zone has been almost completely abandoned for about ten years as a consequence of an exceptional pullulation of manioc ants. We have summarized only a few relatively recent clearings there:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31 Δ	Akwadé (L1, E22) for himself	1948	member of the Lapé lo	cut only once on old secondary forest
32 Δ	Akwadé, for himself	1950	id.	cut twice in all by Akwadé

[Lands of Loka Village (Lapé'lo)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
33	Δ	Akwadé	1952	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
34	O	Awènkina (L1, D23); clearing cut by her husband	1949	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
35	O	Awènkina id.	1936(?)	id.	cut twice in all by Awènkina
36	O	Awènkina; clearing cut by her son	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 on old secondary forest
37	O	Chii (L1, D24); clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 by the same
38	O	Chii; clearing cut by her husband	1950	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
38a	O	Madu (E41), Chii's daughter	1956	id.	6 years, a part of No. 38 taken up again

[lands of Loka Village (Lapé'lo)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
39	○	Chii; clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1955	id.	?
40	△	Koniman (L1, E31) for himself	1953	id.	4 years (cut by himself in 1949)

[562] Out of the eleven clearings examined here, all are farmed by members of the Lapé lo; seven are held by men and four by women.

Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi village) in the Ingi Udu locality. The Dju lo, whose genealogy is completely known, also constitutes a lineage in the strict sense of the term. It remains well grouped geographically with the exception of a small group established in Boniville close to the grand man.

The lands of the Dju lo are distributed in several zones:

--One on the east bank of the Lawa, a little downstream from Asisi, in the Ingi Udu locality;

--One on the Dutch bank opposite Gengé Tabiki;

--One upstream from Maripasoula at the confluence with the Inini, where an important farming habitation is established (Atikati village);

--Finally, several members of the group make their clearings near Kormotibo in the Kuyaku locality, on the lands of the Dipélu II lo.

Clearings summarized here all belong to the first zone.

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

/88 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
41	O	Téodora (Dju, G40); clearing cut by her husband	1955	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	20 years
42	O	Kukusa (Dju, F40); cl. cut by her husband Bernardin	1953	id.	a very long time
43	O	Paana (Dju, G2), cut it herself (has no husband)	1955	id.	6 years /89/
44	O	Tini (Dju, F1); clearing cut by her husband	1954	id.	6 years (?); cut 3 times in all since 1920
45	O	Lènga (Dju, F36); clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	4 years
46	O	Féni (Dju, G3), /Δ?/for his wife Abugu	1954	id.	7 years
47	O	Tini (Dju, F1); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id.	6 years (?)

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
48	Tint; clearing cut by her husband	1956	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	3 years
48a	Sara (Dju, E27); cl. cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years (fraction of clearing 48)
50	Félicia (Dju, G41); clearing cut by her husband Akodo	1954	id.	?
51	Téodora; clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	2 years
64	Abo† (E8), for himself	1956	id.	2 years
76	Ata (F2); clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years
77	idem	1955	id.	3 years

Clearings 64, 76, and 77 appear to be enclaves a little within the Awara Bakka finage. Actually, from the very fashion

/89 cont./
621 in which these finages were constituted, one must not expect to
613 find clear boundaries.
•423 These 14 clearings are thus used exclusively by members
241 of the Dju lineage living in Asisi village. All but two are held
[562] by women. /90/

It is interesting to study the kinship ties of the members of the lineage making their clearings in different zones. One might actually believe that there is a tendency toward individualization of sublineages, and that the descendants of a particular woman tend to hold exclusively the use of such and such a zone.

We see here that such is not the case.

In zone 1 (studied here), make their clearings: Tini (F1), Paana (G2), Féni (G3), very close relatives, but also Lènga (F36), Kukusa (F40), and Félicia (G41), whose relationship with the first-named is as distant as possible within the lineage: Félicia and Paana for example are relatives in the 12th degree.

The same thing is observed in other zones, as we shall see in the study of farming habitations.

621 Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi village). The finage of the
613 Awara Bakka lo is particularly interesting to study, for this lo
614 has a more complex structure. Study of the genealogy shows the
423 existence of three distinct fractions, which we have designated respectively as Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.3. The Aw.B.1 and 2 fractions consider themselves as the same lineage in the strict sense (bɛɛ). On the contrary, fraction 3 can be considered as a separate lineage from the point of view of legal responsibility. Moreover, the members of the small Afi lineage, living with the Awara Bakka, also constitute a separate unit from the legal point of view. It is important to study whether that carries over into their territorial implantation.

[Lands of The Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Boni village)]

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We were not able to carry this study out exhaustively because the great mass of lands cultivated by the Awara Bakka are situated on the Surinam bank. The clearings summarized here are grouped in a zone called Ingi Udu; they are served by two landing places or dégrads, borrowed exclusively by the Awara Bakka.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61 O	Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30); cl. cut by her brother Agibidon	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest
62 O	Mani (Afi lineage); clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1956	member of the Afi lineage, living in Asisi	2 years
63 O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her brother Agibidon	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi village	2 years; cut 4 times in all, the 1st about 1949 /91/
65 O	Akanté (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her husband Poopu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	2 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66	O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her husband Sosoman	1954	id. 1st fraction	2 years
67	O	Lébimichi (Aw. B.1, F27); clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
68	O	Anèta (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her son-in-law Kéwénu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	4 years
69	O	Agyasu (Aw.B.1, F38); clearing cut by her brother Baliki	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi vge.	4 years
70	O	Emma (Aw.B.2); clearing cut by her son Akodo	?	id. 2nd fraction	4 years
71	O	Irma (Aw.B.1, E37); clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1956	id. 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest

[Lands of the Awara Bakka Io (Asisi Village)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
72	O	Emma; cl. cut by herself	1955	id. 2nd fraction	3 years
73	O	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
74	O	Kilina (Aw.B.3, E71); cl. cut by her husband Amèmbé	1956	id. 4th fraction	4 years /92/
75	O	Namu (Aw.B.1, E48); cl. cut by her husband Koniman	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
78	Δ	Lawa (Aw.B.1, F43); for his fiancée Kula (Asisi-Dju)	1956	id. 1st fraction	?
79	O	Béma (Aw.B.3, E73); cl. cut by her husband Maïna	1956	id. 4th fraction	2 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/92 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
80	○	Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E19)	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
81	△	Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47); for himself	1952	1st fraction	?
82	△	Adam (Afi lineage, c7); for his wife Dachini (Asisi-Dju)	1954	member of the Afi lineage living in Asisi	?
83	○	Titi (Aw.B.1, E16); cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction, Asisi village	
84	○	Noémi (Aw. B.1, F51); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id. 1st fraction	2 years
85	○	Summa (Aw. B.3, F81); clearing cut by herself	1956	id. 3rd fraction	3 years
86	○	Léna (Aw.B.1, F52); clearing cut by her son	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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/92 cont./

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
87 ○	Noémi; clearing cut by herself (having become a widow)	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years /93/
88 ○	Titi; clearing cut by herself	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
89 ○	Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19); clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1959	id. 1st fraction	4 years
90 ○	Titi; cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	id. 1st fraction	5 years

[562] Of the 27 clearings examined, only two /sic/ are held by men, 26 /sic/ by women.

19 are allotted to members of the 1st fraction;
2 " " to a member of the 2nd fraction;
2 " " to members of the 3rd fraction;
4 " " to members of the Afi lineage.

Thus one can deduce from this study that there is no tendency toward the making up of separate finages by the various fractions of the Awara Bakka lo. The members of the Afi lineage living in their midst have no tendency to group their clearings, either.

In fact, the inhabitants of a village, even issuing from different lineages, possess joint rights over the lands.

/93 cont./

/21/ /13/ /23/ /24/ Lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II lo, in the Tapo locality. The fraction of the Dipélu II lo which has been settled in Asisi for some 30 years and which remains subject to the authority of the head of the lo living in Kormotibo, groups its clearings in a zone which has been allotted to it in the Tapo locality.

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
91	○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1954	member of the Dipélu II fraction established in Asisi	2 years
92	○	Lawenchi	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
93	△	Aréni (G20), for himself	1953	id.	id. /94/
94	△	Aréni (G20), for himself	1956	id.	id.
95	○	Kaala (G28); clearing cut by her husband Tamu	1954	id.	id.
96	○	Kaala	1951	id.	id.
97	○	Kiboya (G31); clearing cut by her husband Simon	1954	id.	3 years

[lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II lo]

/94 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
98	△	Kopo (G32), for himself	1954	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
99	○	Tama (G29); clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1954	id.	?
99a		Séséy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1949	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
100	○	Tyoko (G30); clearing cut by her husband Dodo	1954	id.	2 years
101	○	Tama; clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1953	id.	2 years
102	○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1953	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
103	○	Séséy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1951	id.	3 years

/95/

Out of 14 clearings examined here, all without exception are occupied by the members of the Dipélu II fraction in Asisi. This fraction is geographically separated from the other lineages of Asisi village, and has formed a separate finage; that has to do with its relatively high effective force and the good relations among its members (the Afi lineage, with an analogous force but divided by disagreements, has not succeeded in forming a separate finage).

Of 14 clearings, 13 are held by women and one by a man /sic/.

Study of several clearings of Papaïston village. The part of the Papaïston finage situated on the French bank had been abandoned for several years because of an abnormal pullulation of manioc ants. In 1956-57 all the inhabitants of the village were making their clearings on the Surinam bank.

Only several clearings going back to the years 1947-50 could be identified.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
111 O	Efa (P1, D4)	1946	member of the Papa-ïston lo	cleared for the 1st time on old secondary forest
112 O	Wilhelmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1947	id.	id.
113 O	Oben (P1, E13)	1950	id.	id.

[Papaïston Village]

/95 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
114	Gou (P1, F8); clearing cut by her husband Akwali		id.	id.
115	Puti (P2, F71); clearing cut by her husband Maïpa	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time on old secondary forest
116	Hélèna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her husband Baliki	1951	id.	id.

[52] These six clearings are held by women of the Papaïston lineage, in accordance with the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks.

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/96/ The Social System Illuminated by the Study of Implantation on the Soil

128 Study of the clearings in the neighborhood of the farming villages gives exact information about the structure of the kin groups which cannot be obtained by direct interrogation.

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377 --Transmission of rights over land within the lineage fraction having the same residence constitutes an imprescriptible legal principle, to which one refers as the conclusive argument to settle every dispute;

P96 cont./

423 613 621 --The principle of matrilocal grouping is effectively applied in nearly all cases. The matrilineages have almost all formed, according to this principle, separate finages, on which their rights are well established; most of these lands appear to be of old formation;

423 613 621 511 --The lineage fractions which have separated themselves geographically from their original grouping have formed finages over which their members exercise exclusive rights. For example, out of the lands of the Dipélu II fraction settled in Asisi not a single case is reported of use by members of the main fraction of the lineage living in Kormotibo;

--The inhabitants of a village subject to one authority possess collective rights over the lands of that village and form a de facto community, even if they belong to different lineages. We have found two characteristic examples of this, Bonaville and Asisi-Awara Bakka; by coming to live in a village and subjecting oneself to the authority of the head, one enters ipso facto into this community.

This custom is in contradiction with the principle of the exclusive rights of the lineage over the soil, but the contradiction is more apparent than real; it makes possible the integration, into a collectivity, of detached persons and small fractions incapable of forming a separate village.

The actual situation thus created is not at all permanent. If a lineage fraction wishes to separate itself either as a consequence of a disagreement or simply because its members have grown sufficiently, it always has the right to do so.

The fundamental principles of the basic rights of the Boni can thus be summarized thus:

"Rights over the soil are joint within the fraction of a lineage whose members live in the same village and are subject to the same authority; any scission of a lineage which has to do with the residence village entails a scission of rights over lands. The

/96 cont./
emigrating fraction possesses exclusive rights over the /agricultural/ land /terroir/ it forms. But it does not lose, at least in principle, its rights over its original land /terroir/."

The study of finages gives us still more important information concerning the exercising of rights of use:

/97/ Of 100 clearings examined, 81 follow the normal process according to which the woman has her clearing made on the land of her lineage (1). Of these 81 clearings, 14 had been

1. For the joint sector of Boniville, the inhabitants of the village were considered as users of rights without distinction of lineage.

made under conditions not made clear, 48 had been cut by the husband, 14 by a near relative (son, brother, exceptionally brother or son-in-law), five by the woman herself.

In only five cases it is, on the contrary, the man who brings his wife onto his lineage's land.

A little more frequent is the case of a man cutting a clearing for himself on his lineage's land.

Finally, the case in which, for reasons of convenience, a member of a lineage asks to work temporarily on the land of another lineage is met twice. Thus this is an extremely unusual practice.

Influence of the geographical environment on the social structure. These observations are to be compared with the ones that can be made about the Cayana Indians and the Indians of Guiana in general, living near the Refugee Blacks, in the same geographical environment and almost in the same way (let us recall that the Refugee Blacks borrowed the whole of their material culture from the Indians).

Gt Hurault--141 K-3 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
Rucuyen SR12
Oyana

/97 cont./

R 105 [361] The Oayana Indians are half nomadic, moving their villages every ten years on the average. They have neither a permanent center of peopling, a place of worship, nor a cemetery; they do not have ancestor worship, at least no concept involving a precise and permanent tie between the living, the dead, and the land.

R 114 182 [36] This state of things has been attributed by several authors to the geographical environment and especially to the ravages of the manioc ant; the manioc ant, swarming particularly in formerly cultivated zones, makes nomadism advantageous. From this would have resulted a social structure and a mode of living adapted to these special conditions.

B 114 769 182 The example of the Refugee Blacks shows conspicuously that these considerations, in spite of their undeniable interest, do not constitute an explanation of general scope: for the Refugee Blacks, the only social ties conceivable flow from ancestor worship: above all the imperatives of material life the individual feels as a primordial duty the act of attaching himself to the village of his ancestors, to the land they cleared off and which remains under their protection.

B 182 241 423 613 The difficulties inherent in the geographical environment have been easily surmounted or gotten around. Rather than vast zones with one single holder, each lineage divided its finage into sectors distant from one another. If these zones become temporarily unusable, the Boni go to create farming habitations on the upper course of the river, without ceasing because of this to reside habitually in the village of their ancestors; there results from this no other constraint but losing two weeks each year in going and coming on the river.

6:Hurault--142 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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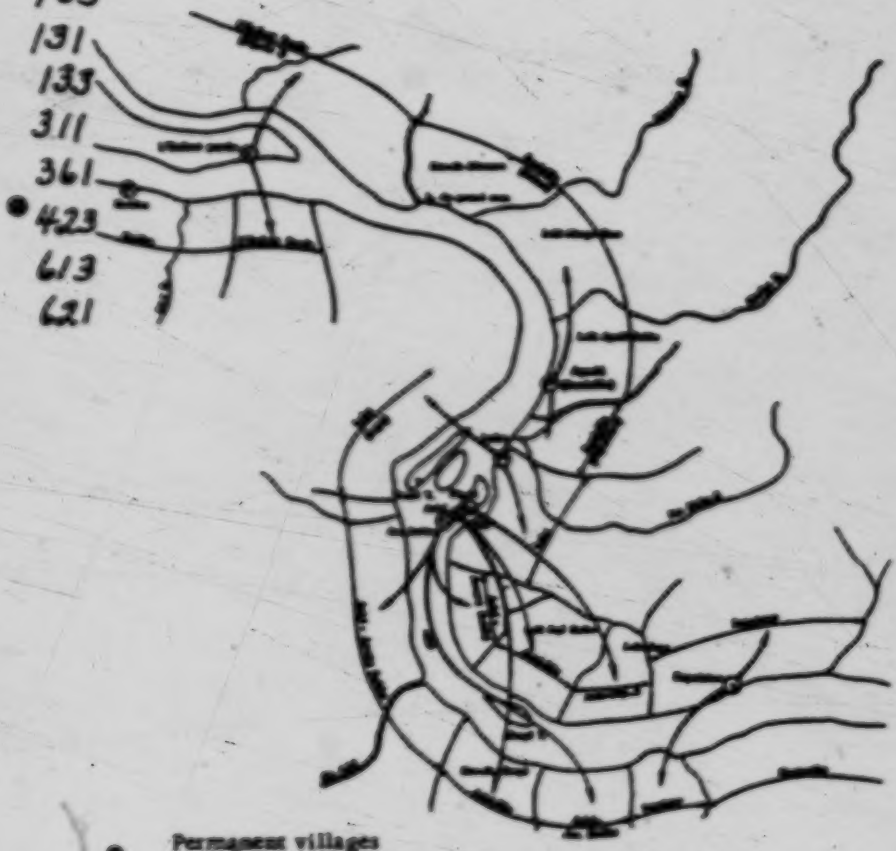
Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood
of the Principal Boni Villages



● Permanent villages
___ Boundary lines

Scale: 1/xxxx

/K. or Cr. = Creek,
Lieu-dit = locality,
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,
Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 18.

/99/

182 161 241 423 613 That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their institutions.

182 Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 62 184 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence villages.

241 621 361 162 613 The farming habitations we are going to study more especially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons belonging to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïton lineages. Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 184 62 [361] [162] On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be compared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/100 cont./

241 62 [184] under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maximum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages, they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kĩpu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

● 423 241 [182 184] However, the principles of establishment and functioning of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425 613] 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his lineage (bee) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428 613] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 [361] 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments south of Simayé Falls up to Indian country; they do not create real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

/102 cont./

425 2) On the contrary, from the time that occupation of a region becomes habitual, even by groups of small numerical importance, people pay attention to the attribution of the lands. [361] [613] Thus it is assumed that the west bank of the Lawa south of the Atikati habitation up to Simayé Falls has belonged, since the end of the last century, to the Lapé lo, which was occupying it in 1957 by the Paako, Samo, Pwen, Saléni, and Makélé habitations.

• 423 613 241 361 3) Within each zone the rights remain joint and anyone of the same lo may come to settle there. Thus the farming habitations move around, but within a definite sector. Thus for example Kwaku (Lapé) abandoned in 1954 his habitation situated in the lands of the Lapé lineage (it was too damp in the rainy season, he prefers to content himself with the lands of the "great village"). He does not lose his rights because of this. If he decides eventually to come back, he will settle anywhere in the zone attributed to the Lapé lo.

182 161 241 361 425 It goes without saying that if the population were more dense, such a principle would be difficult to apply and that serious disputes would arise. But this mode of occupation of the soil is perfectly suitable, in their present situation, for the tribes of the Refugee Blacks, for it allows them to practice, with a minimum of friction, the seminomadism which the geographical environment and especially the manioc ant impose.

241 361 423 The zones occupied by the farming habitations rarely have a single holder: most often they are divided into separate sectors on different parts of the river.

504 613 361 423 Actually, as we have seen around the "great villages," each lineage possesses a certain number of "dégrads," or landing places, from which paths radiate. Each "dégrad" is rigorously reserved for the members of a lineage. The occupants of a farming village radiate from around their landing place until they

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504 /102 cont./
613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
609 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/103 cont./
621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

[613] Likewise Antonu exerts undisputed authority over three groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini, for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which remains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

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613 Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo
(Antonu, Adiiso, Kakyé)
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Antonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka lo (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging
[613] to that lineage. Antonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Asisi).

To insure his rights, Antonu put on his land two groupings
621 whose situations are very different:
241
592 1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
423 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
[476] Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group has no right at all over the land: if Antonu and his wife ever separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

/104 cont./

621 2) Nearby, he set up the habitation of his sister Irma
592 married to Adiiso (Dju). This village is improperly called Adiiso,
241 but Adiiso has no right at all there. In case of breaking with his
[423] wife, he leaves the habitation.

3) Finally, Kakyé, an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, settled nearby with her daughters and son.

Structure and functioning of the Antonu habitaton. This habitation comprised in January, 1957, disregarding children:

- ○[△] Antonu (Aw. B. 1, E47);
- ○ Asakundu, his wife (L2, E55);
- ○ Kapééki (L2, F60) } Asakundu's daughters, married;
- ○ Angisa (L2, F61) }
- △ Sindu (L2, F62), Asakundu's son;
- △ Maliki (L2, F63), Asakundu's son;
- ○ Yundu, Kapééki's daughter, married;
- △ Anato, Kapééki's son;
- ○ Agata, Akoni's daughter.

The wives of Maliki and Sindu who do not have any personal habitation come there to work, but the are not to be considered as members of the group. They have no hut.

Likewise, the husbands of Kapééki, Yundu, and Angisa
241 come to help temporarily at the time of the clearings.
621 Activity of the Antonu village in 1955-56:

		1956	1955
○	Asakundu	1 clearing with Antonu	1 clearing with Antonu
○	Kapééki	1 clearing with Akuba her husband (who did not make any other clearing)	idem

/104 cont./

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		1956	1955
○	Angisa	1 clearing with her husband Ernest (who cut 2 other clearings in other sectors because he has 2 other wives)	1 clearing with Antonu
△	Sindu	1 clearing for Amélia, his wife, 1 clearing for himself	id. (2 clearings)
△	Anato	en mission; cut no clearing; his wife weeded a two-year-old clearing herself	1 clearing for his mother (had made in addition a /105/ clearing in Asisi for his wife on her family's lands)
△	Maliki	same case	nothing for his mother, 1 clearing for his wife in another habitation

Study of the clearings of the Antonu habitation:

1) West Bank:

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31	△	Antonu, for himself	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo, founder of the habitation	2 years (cut in 1950 for the 1st time on primary forest)

[423]
[613]

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
32	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	works there because her mother Asakundu is married to Antonu, but has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
34	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1952	Antonu's wife	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
35	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1948	like No. 32	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1945)
36	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu		like No. 34	cut for the 1st time on primary forest
37	△	Antonu, for himself	1948	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
38 /10/	△	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
39	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1951	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time /106/
40	○	Asakundu	1955	like No. 34	4 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
		2) East Bank			
1	○	Angisa	1955	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)
2	○	Angisa	1956	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1954)
3	△	Sindu, for himself	1955	Asakundu's son; same observations as No. 32, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
4	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1952	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
5	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her son Maliki		like No. 34	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
6	△	Amatodja (L2, F53), for himself		Asakundu's son; came to work there in 1953 only	
7	○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband Maséko	1955	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
8	◔	Noémi (Aw.B.1, F51); cl. cut by her uncle Antonu	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo	cut for 1st time
9	△	Antonu, for himself	1953		?

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
10 ○	Yundu; clearing cut by her brother Agata /listed as "○Agata, Akoni's daughter," on p. 149 – Tr./	1953	same observations as No. 32 (daughter of Kapééki and granddaughter of Asakundu	cut for the 1st time /107/
15 ○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband	1954	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
16 ○	Noémi; clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1951(?)	same observations as No. 8	cut for the 1st time
17 △	Abémi (Aw.B.I, F49)	1951	does not usually work these, but has rights over the land as a member of the Awaza Bakka lo.	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18	△	Antonu, for himself	1951	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time
19	△	Sindu	1951	cut for himself; same observations as No. 2	
20	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1950	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time
21		Noémi; cl. cut by her husband Tomo	1950(?)	like No. 16	cut for the 1st time
22		Angusi; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
41	○	Kapéési; clearing cut by her husband	1948	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
42	○	Kapéési; id.	1955	id.	id.

C:\Hurault--456 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes SRS Boni

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
43	○	Tundu; clearing cut by her husband Alfonso	1955	same observations as No. 10	id. /108/
44	△	Malki, for his wife Agyaa	1954	id.	id.
45	△	Malki, for his wife Agyaa	1954	id.	id.
46	△	id.		id.	id.
30	○	Nella (K1, D44); clearing cut by her husband Agonichi	1936(?)	woman working in Atikati village; had made a clearing there before Antonu's installation, then abandoned (marion ant)	id.
31	△	Samalobi † (Tikan 30)	1920(?)	Samalobi, first occupant of the place, had ceded all his rights to Antonu	d. /emigrat for [illegible]

/108 cont./

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Structure of the Adiso habitation. This habitation actually belongs to Irma, Adiso's wife, of the Awara-Bakka (1) lineage (E37), who was settled there by Antonio whose classificatory sister she is.

Working with Irma, disregarding children, are:

--Her husband Adiso (Dju, F37);

--Her daughter Chicalina (Aw. B. 1, F43), married to Dédai (Li, F45);

--Her son Lawa, unmarried;

--Her son Malia, married.

Malia's wife Mbéma, who has no other habitation, has her clearing made there, but she has no hut in her own right and is not a member of the group.

Activity of the habitation in 1958-59:

	1958	1959
Irma	2 clearings (both by Adiso, who cut a 3rd in Assi for his other wife)	1 clearing cut by her son Malia. Adiso being on a trip
Chicalina	1 clearing cut by Lawa, her brother, her husband being en mission;	1 clearing cut by her husband Dédai

/Fig. 18 appears here./ /110/

/109/

Malia	1 clearing for his wife Mbéma	Malia en mission had not been able to cut for his wife. She had weeded a two-year-old clearing with Chicalina and Irma

...thault--158 K-6 (1948-1958) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Boni

/facing p. 108/

102
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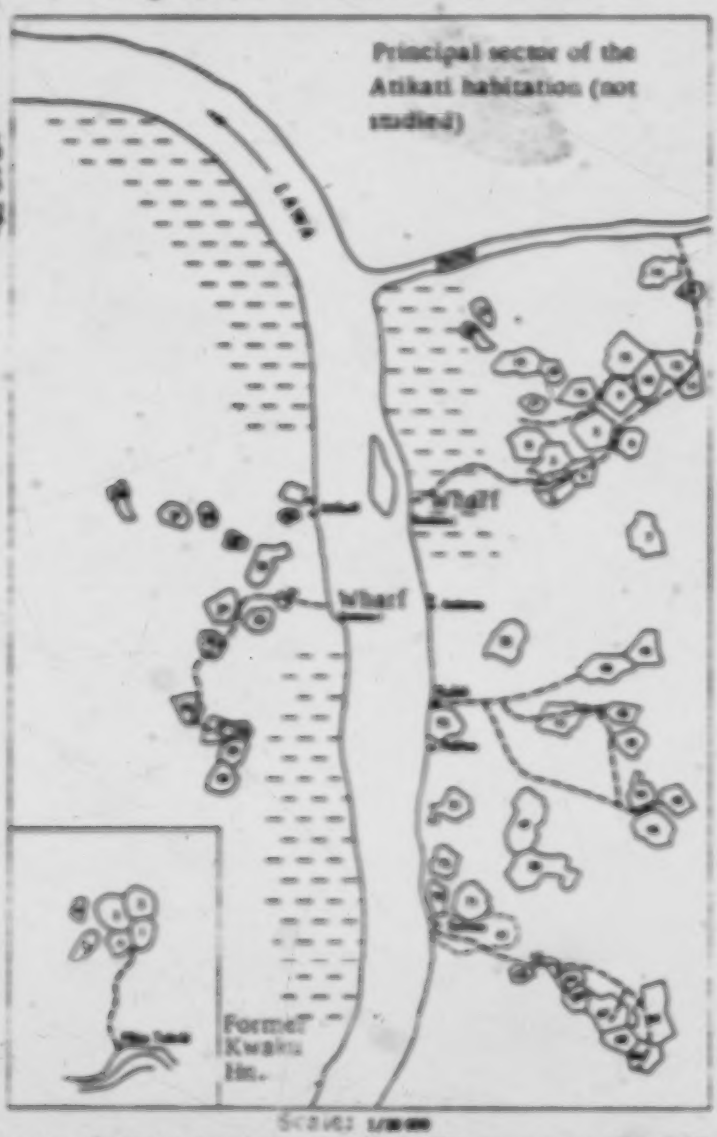
Distribution of Lands among the Lineages
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini



Scale: 1/[illegible]

Aerial photographs by the 003/200 IGN mission, taken in October, 1956

Farming habitation

Floodable zone

Clearings studied in January, 1957

Fig. 18.

621 592 241 [559] [496]

/110 cont./

Structure of the Kakyé habitation. This habitation is directed by Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E18), a widow for a long time and not remarried, working with her children.

Working with her are:

--Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19), her daughter;

--Papakay (Aw.B.1, F23), her son;

--Akamina (Aw.B.1, F24), her daughter;

--Lébimichi (Aw.B.1, F27), daughter of Yochi † sister of Kakyé.

241 592 621 • 423 [613]

Listing of several clearings of the Adiiso and Kakyé habitations. These clearings are totally mixed with each others' and with those of the Antonu habitation, which is normal since these lands all belong to the Awara Bakka lineage.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
11 △	Bésu (Aw.B.1, F17), for himself	1954	Kakyé's son (does not work there habitually)	cut for the 1st time
12 ○	Amélia; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1954	Kakyé's daughter	id.
13 ○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Asonson	1954	Kakyé's niece	cut for the 1st time

[Adiiso and Kakyé habitations]

/110 cont./

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592
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423

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
14	△	Papakay, for himself	1953	Kakyé's son	id.
47	○	Irma; clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1955	foundress of the Adiiso habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
48	○	Amèntanu; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1953	Kakyé's daughter	cut for the 1st time /111/
49	○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Bésu	1953	foundress of the Kakyé habitation	id.
52	○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Papakay	1951	id.	cut one single time

/121 cont./

361 241 613

Habitation of the Dju Lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 241 [613] [423] [496]

Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju lo). Important habitation founded by Atikati, of the Dju lo, possessing an extended forage fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom, and with friends.

622

Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1. D62), † in 1958, who was the son of a man of the Dju lo and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

621 241 613 [622]

The basic group of this habitation is made up of people of the Dju lo. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya (Dju. E19) has directed the village.

Members of the Dju lo:

○ Adyidya
○ Baawé (Dju. E13) } both without living children
△ Loko (Dju. F39)
△ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:
○ Wiãimma (P1. F1);
○ Kumata (P1. G1), daughter of Wiãimma.

To this group were added in 1957:

△ Bernardin (K1. D62), raised with the Dju;
○ Asumé (Dju. L F2), daughter of △ Bernardin and ○ Mimen †.

[423] Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there. But they have no right at all over the land:

○ Nãlla (K1. D44);
Mawé (K1. E35), her daughter.

/111 cont./

621 591 183 621 213 423 The composition of this village is thus entirely aberrant from the point of view of /112/ custom, and founded entirely upon personal fellow feeling. But the customary rule is none the less present in the thought of all: the founder being of the Dju lineage, the land belongs to the Dju. The fact, for example, that Bernardin (Kotika) and his daughters (Papalmon) have worked there for a very long time creates no right at all for either lineage.

(571) If dissensions occur in the group, those outside the Dju lineage must leave.

24 621 423 Listing of some clearings of the Atikati habitation (west bank).

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23 △	Atikati (Dju, E18) for himself	1952	founder of the habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
24 ○	Wiklimina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Béso	1955	Atikati's daughter, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
25 ○	Wiklimina; clearing cut by her father Atikati	1951	id.	id.

[Atikati habitation (west bank)]

/112 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
26	△	Sooman (Dju. E14)	1951	Does not usually work there but has rights over the land as a member of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time in 1950, part taken up again in 1955
27	○	Hélène (P1. F2); clearing cut by her father Atikati	1955	Atikati's daughter; usually lives at the Sawen habitation; has no rights over the land	6 years; cut for the 1st time in 1949, partially taken up again in 1955
28		Adyidya; clearing cut by her husband Kwami (Djuka)	1949	woman of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time

/113/

Habitations of the Papaïston Io in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

Structure of the Sawen and Agodéba habitations (Papaïston Io).

Habitations occupying an extensive zone, attributed for at least 60 years to the principal Papaïston lineage.

Working with Sawen (P1. E7) are:
--His nieces Hélène (P1. F2) and Emilia (P1. F3);
--His nephew Agoundé (P1. F4).

Working with Agodéba (P1. E1) are:
--His sister (in the classificatory sense) Kamen (P1. E14);
--His niece (in the classificatory sense) Gou (P1. F8).

Moreover, a group is settled there centered on Tolna, Agodéba's wife, representing the last of the Bakabuchi lineage, almost extinct:

△ Tolna, Agodéba's wife;
/1/ Mangoto, Tolna's son;
Agoudoo.

This group has no right over the land and would leave in the case of a break-up of the Agodéba-Tolna household.

Finally, a female friend, Puti (F71), of the almost extinct Papaïston 2 lineage.

Activity of the Agodéba habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
△ Agoudoo	1 clearing for his wife Tolna	id.
○ Kamen	1 clearing cut by her husband Adam who made no other	id.
○ Gou	1 clearing cut by her husband Séau	id.

/113 cont./

241
621

	1956	1955
○ Puti	1 clearing cut by her husband Malpa (Dia. I)	id.
△ Mangoo	1 clearing for himself (he cut another for his wife in Kormotibo)	nothing (was not yet settled there)
○ Apuukobi	nothing (had her clearing made in Papaïnon)	1 clearing by her husband Asëni /114/

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• 423

Listing of the clearings of Sawen village.

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
01	△	Sawen, for himself	1930 (?)	village founder	cut for the 1st time
02	△	Sawen, for himself	1955	village founder	cut for the 1st time
03	△	Sawen, for himself	1948	id.	id.
04	△	Sawen, for himself	1946 (?)	id.	id.
05	○	Hélénaj clearing cut by her husband	1954	woman of the Papaïnon lineage (Sawen's niece)	id.

/114 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66	○	Hélène; clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	?
67	○	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1954	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
68	△	Agoundé, for his mother-in-law Popula	1954	man of the Papalisson lo making on his land the clearing intended for his mother-in-law	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
69	○	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1955	woman of the Papalisson lo	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
70	○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	Cut for the 1st time
71	○	Emilia id.	1952	id.	id.
72	○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	id.

Thurault--167 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/1156/

Habitations of the Lapé lo
(Paako, Samo, Chii, Pwen, Saléni)

These habitations occupy soil belonging to the Lapé lo since the end of the 19th century.

The Kwaku habitation has been abandoned since 1943, its occupants making their clearings around Loka.

Paako habitation. The Paako habitation is occupied only by two women, Paako (L1, E29) and her daughter Doua, who have their clearings made there by their husbands.

Chii habitation. Chii (L1, D04) directs the habitation where she works with her son Topo, her daughters Yaana, Madu, and Koko. The daughters' husbands come to help at the time of the clearings.

Pwen habitations. As a consequence of dissensions, Pwen (L1, E33) lives all alone in this habitation.

Saléni habitation. It is directed by Saléni, an old woman of the Lapé lo (E25), who works there with her son Tingo, her daughters Kayé and Anaata.

Structure of the Samo habitation called Pikin Tabiki (Lapé lo).

Habitation occupying another portion of the Lapé lo finage.

Several Lapé men and women make their clearings there:

△ Tamu (L1, F32), who brings his wife Kaala (Dip. II) there
△ Fondi, his brother (L1, F33),
○ Méiwa, his classificatory aunt (L1, E32);
○ Téwé, Méiwa's daughter (L1, F44)
○ Ahomédi, Pikin's daughter (L1, F34).

The husbands of Méiwa, Téwé, Ahomédi come to work at the time of the clearings, but are not part of the group.

/115 cont./

The composition of this village therefore entirely conforms to the custom.

Activity in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Δ Tamo	nothing (he cut in Lapé for his wife)	1 clearing for his wife
O Mélita	1 clearing by her husband Kwata (K)	id.
O Téké	1 clearing by Mélita's husband, for her husband Bélina is en mission	1 clearing by her husband /116/
Akomédi	1 clearing by her husband Todo (who cut another one in Assi for his other wife)	

Listing of several clearings of the Samo habitation (Pikin Tabiki) (Lapé lo).

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	O	Akomédi; clearing cut by her husband Todo	1956	woman of the Lapé lo	cut for the 1st time
2	O	Akomédi id.	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)

6:Hurault--189 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

[Same habitation (P.Kon Tabi K.)]

/118 cont./

241
621
423

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
3	○	Mélita; clearing cut by her husband Kwata	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
4	○	Mélita; cl. cut by her son Désiré	1954	id.	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1948, then in 1951 for the 2nd time
5	○	Téké; cl. cut by her husband Balca	1961	id.	3 years (cut in 1948 for the 1st time)
6	○	Téké id.	1959	id.	cut for the 1st time

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241
134

Farming Habitations downstream from Maripasoula

Several habitations are installed in the Kuyaku locality very fertile region giving high yields of manioc (1).

1. This fertility is explained by the nature of the subsoil (hills of dolerite).

621
241
271
423

Ownership of the land. Djédu II is a Paramaccha village. Several habitations side by side.

/116 cont./

621 241 613 423 ○ Nanay (Dip. II) † ; habitation disappeared at her death in 1953; /117/

○ Béniti (Dju) † in 1955; habitation taken up again by her children and grandchildren: ○ Eliana. △ Doni. ○ Kulina. ○ Maria; ○ Tini (Dju);

○ Kouïda (Afi lineage) † :

△ Poopu, established there for a long time. He had abandoned the site in 1948; came back in 1952.

The composition of the groups is as follows:

1) ○ Béniti † (Dju. E5): her daughters Maria, Kulina, and Eliana. Béniti's hut has been taken up again by her grandson Doni whom she brought up.

2) ○ Tini (Dju. F1); habitation grouping Tini, Ata (Dju. F2), and their daughters.

3) ○ Kouïda † : habitation grouping Kouïda († Oct., 1956) (Afi lineage), her brother Kenkim, her husband Empalé, her niece Samabun.

Other habitations:

Ma Efa (Papalmon), settled on Diki II in lands upstream from Kormotibo (French bank) for about 30 years. Ma Efa (P1. D4) worked with her sons.

Gengé Tabiki (Dutch bank, upstream from Asiri village); small habitation founded by ○ Aliki (Dju. E23), with Lingo ○ (Dju. F36) and ○ Diana (Dju. E9).

621 241 591

Functioning of the Farming Habitations

Structure. Of the 13 farming habitations studied here, 12 have a structure conforming to the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks, implying the grouping of daughters and unmarried sons near the mother; only one has an abnormal structure:

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621

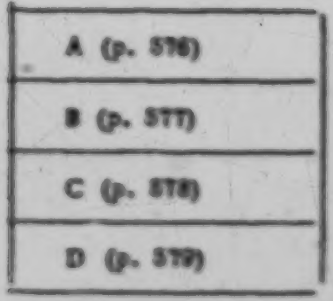
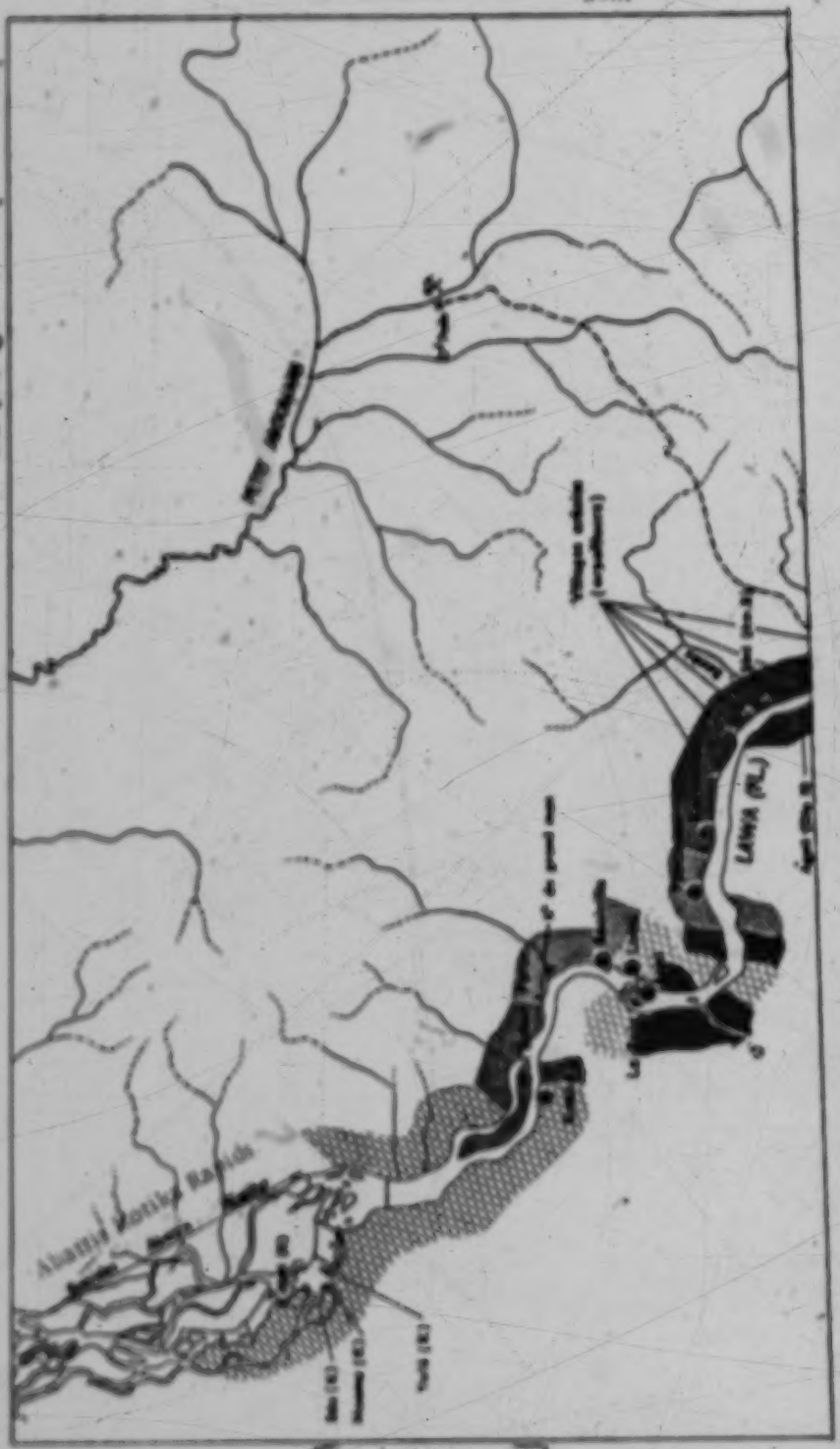


Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

Collection--576 K-5 (1949-1958) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Box1



End Map - A

COURSE OF THE LAMA
(Track Chains)
REPRESENTATION OF THE PROPLING
Illustrated - 577 K-5 (1948-1968) 1801 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
102
106
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621
[End Map-A]

Villages and Farming Systems
in 1950

- Rice rainfed village
- Rice farming systems
- Cereal village
- Diverse establishments
- Cereal bankstown
- Small gold working
- Indian village

(a) Rainfed rice
(b) Irrigated rice
(c) Rainfed rice
(d) Irrigated rice
(e) Rice

Land use in the Rice Bankstown

End Map - 2

Lands belonging to the Boni Hinterlands

(D) Dikan 地

(L) Lapé 地

(Dje) Dje 地

(Av.B.) Avara Baïka 地

(P) Papétimon 地

Scale 1/250,000

End Map-3

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614

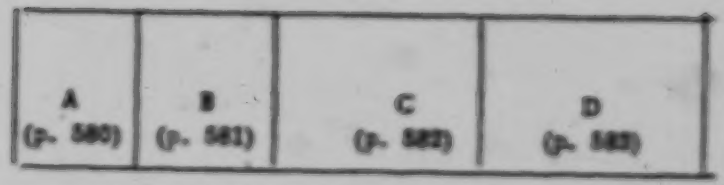


Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

102
103
133
241
341
361
423
459
613
614
504

Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana
Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate - A]

Scale 1:

[End Plate - B]

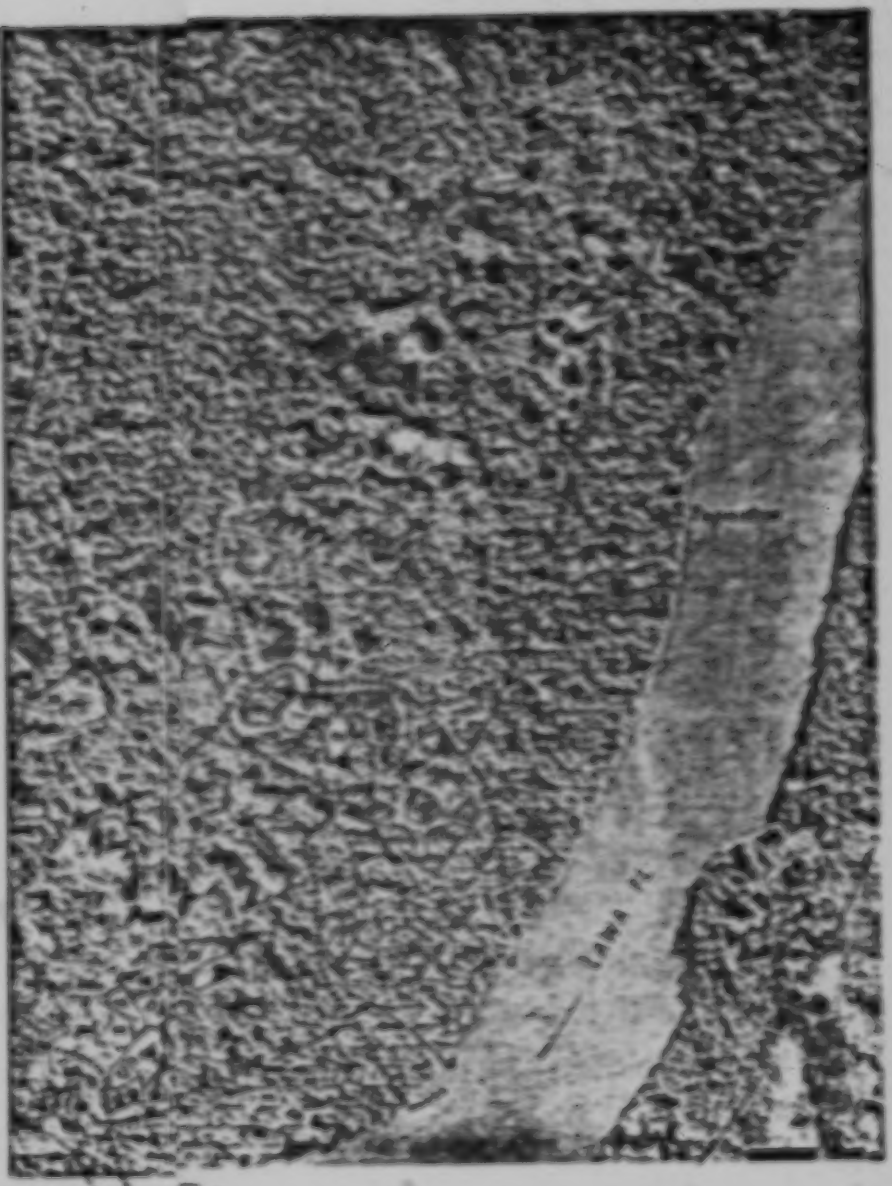
102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614

Scale 1:

[End Plate - C]

Illinois--507 K-5 (1965-1966) 1911 SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Boni

162
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614



- Agodé permanent village
- clearing
- podzolic zone
- boundaries not known
- farming habitation
- wharf
- path
- approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]